Franks' Effect on Islamic Spirit, Religious and Cultural Characters in Medieval Syria

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This study will follow the phenomena of the Franks/ Crusaders in late Medieval Syria, after the Crusade invasions in 1099 and their occupation of different parts of Syria. It focuses on the changes in the Islamic spirit and Muslim institutions in light of the Franks' activities and interactions. In addition to the political and economic effects of the Franks on the Muslim lands, the Islamic spirit and educational character were significantly affected too. The impact of the different historical circumstances on the different regions of Medieval Syria (*Bilad al-Sham*) can be discerned in the different trends, developments and sizes of the intellectual class, resulting in the establishment of different kinds of Islamic institutions.[1] Typical of the cities in the north and inner parts of Syria, which were directly affected by the Mongols, Damascus can be contrasted with Jerusalem, which was typical of cities in the south and coastal area that fell under the Franks' (*Ifranj/Firanja*) domain. In all probability, all of the factors mentioned above had direct and indirect effects on the immigration of intellectuals, *'ulama*, religious figures in Syria during the late Middle Ages.

Immigration of 'Ulama and High Ranking Muslims[2]

As a result of the Franks' conquest of Jerusalem in 492H/1099AC, many of the *'ulama*, sufis and other renowned Muslims were killed, while many became refugees who flocked into Damascus and Baghdad. A group of *'ulama*, sufis, merchants and other high ranking people from Palestine crowded into Baghdad, accompanied by the judge Abu Sa'd al-Harawi, to seek aid and support from the Abbasid caliph al-Mustazhir (r. 478-512/1094-1118) and the Seljukid sultan Barkiyaruq (478-499/1094-1105). Furthermore, in 501/1108, another mission from Tripoli, led by the judge Fakhr al-Mulk Ibn 'Ammar, arrived in Baghdad seeking help and trying to convince the caliph and Muslim leaders to act against the Crusaders.[3]

After the forceful immigration due to the Frankish Crusaders, many of the *'ulama* and their descendants, who originated in Jerusalem, became well-known in Damascus and other regions in the Islamic world, particularly, in Greater Syria, Egypt and Iraq. They were known by the title *al-Maqdisi/al-Maqadisa* or by their specific origins, such as *al-Nabulsi*, *al-Mardawi*, *al-Sili*, *al-Jamma'ili* and others. Those scholars and *'ulama* contributed significantly in the fields of education and religion there. They were prominent as founders of various educational and religious institutions, and also as teachers and functionaries, such judges and preachers.

The sons of Abu Shama emigrated from Jerusalem to Damascus at the time of the Crusader conquest when their father was killed in 492/1099. One of Abu Shama's descendants, Shihab al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman bin Isma'il, known as Abu Shama al-Maqdisi (d. 665/1267), gained renown as a historian and teacher in Damascus.[4] Likewise, the sons and descendants of Abu al-Faraj al-Shirazi, of Persian origin, emigrated from Jerusalem to Damascus due to the Crusader conquest. These descendants of al-Shirazi did much to strengthen the Hanbali school of Islamic law, both in the Jerusalem area and in Damascus.[5]

The main migration of Jerusalem's *'ulama* as a result of Crusader pressure was in the year 551/1156, which saw a mass immigration of the Hanbalite Banu Qudama from the village of Jamma'il (Jamma'in today) adjacent to Nablus. They were forced to emigrate, and chose Damascus as their destination. There was a similar migration of the educated elite from the nearby villages of Marda, al-Sila, Yasuf, al-Deir and others. Banu Qudama left for Damascus accompanied by their families, at a time of turmoil created by the Crusader presence.[6]

As the Banu Qudama were adherents of the Hanbali school, their most prominent scholars went on to Iraq to study there with Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 561/1165). One of these was 'Abd al-Ghani ibn Surur al-Maqdisi who, accompanied by his relatives, traveled to Baghdad in 560/1164, to study under al-Jilani. After four years of studies in Iraq and the East, he returned to Damascus where he commenced teaching *hadith* (the laws and traditions concerning the life and sayings of the Prophet) at the Umayyad mosque in the city.[7]

Damascus attracted numerous migrating followers of the Hanbali school, thus turning that city into the Hanbali centre in Syria. As previously mentioned, the Banu Qudama had emigrated from the Jerusalem area to Damascus due to the unfavorable conditions resulting from the Crusaders' conquest. In Damascus they established a religious-educational system and living accommodations designated for the followers of the Hanbali school. They settled on Mount Qasyun outside the city limits where they built the first houses of the *al-Salihiyya* neighborhood, which later became part of Damascus. Besides contributing to the building of *al-Salihiyya*, Banu Qudama contributed other religious and educational institutions such as the Hanbalite mosque (*Jami' al-Hanabila*) and the renowned madrasas including *al-'Umariyya* and *al-Diya'iyya* as well as other institutions in Damascus.[8]

When the anbali Qudama family moved to Damascus in 551/1156, no separate *mihrab* existed for the anbali adherents in Umayyad mosque until 617/1220. Their educational and religious activities were conducted in a separate location, known as the anbali hall (*riwaq/halaqa*). Sheikh asan bin Mismar al-Hilali (d. 546/1151) conducted the anbali prayers and lessons in a separate circle inside the mosque, but without a *mihrab.*[9] As the anbalis got more powerful in Damascus after the immigration of Banu Qudama from Palestine, a separate *mihrab* in the Umayyad mosque was assigned to them, for prayers, sermons, lectures and studies. This *mihrab* was built in 617/1220 in the third western hall of the mosque, which had formerly been used as an unofficial gathering place of the anbalis.

Despite the growing opposition to allocating this *mihrab* in the mosque, several Ayyubid emirs assisted the anbalis, such as Emir Rukn al-Din al-Mu'a ami.[10] The permanent circle (alaqa) developed in the anbalis' *mihrab* that held every Tuesday, and thus became named by historians, alaqat al-Thulatha'. This circle served as an important institution for higher education, with leading anbali teachers and *'ulama* teaching there during the Mamluk period.[11]

During the Ayyubid period, particularly after the renewal of the Crusader threat, apparently numerous *'ulama* emigrated from Jerusalem to Damascus. For example, the sheikh of the *al-Salahiyya* madrasa in Jerusalem, Taqiyy al-Din Ibn al-Salah (d. 643/1245), fled Jerusalem in anticipation of a Crusader invasion and immigrated to

Damascus after Sultan al-Mu'azzam 'Isa (d. 624/1226) tore down Jerusalem's walls in 616/1219, rendering it vulnerable to the Crusaders' attacks. Ibn al-Salah was forced to emigrate to Damascus despite his holding the highest position in the field of education in Jerusalem at that time and being known by the title "*shaykh al-Islam*". After relocating to Damascus, Ibn al-Salah was appointed teacher in the *al-Rawahiyya* madrasa.[12] Likewise, Ibn 'Urwa al-Musili (d. 620/1223) relocated from Jerusalem to Damascus for similar reasons. In the year of his death, he managed to erect an institution for the study of *hadith* in the courtyard of the Damascus Umayyad mosque. This institution later became known as *Dar al-Hadith al-'Urwiyya.*[13]

The growth and development of *al-Salihiyya* as the centres of the Hanbalis in Syria was at the expense of the other major Hanbali centres in the Jerusalem and Nablus areas that were under Crusader influence. The Hanbali rite in the Jerusalem area began to gain strength during the Fatimid period and continued to do so under the Crusaders, when the Hanbali Abu al-Faraj al-Shirazi (d. 486/1093) immigrated to the city from Persia.

The immigration of Banu Qudama from Jerusalem and the rural area near Nablus resulted in a weakening of the Hanbali adherents' base in the Jerusalem area. Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali al-'Ulaymi made note of this weakness in his work "*Al-'Uns al-Jalil…*" Al-'Ulaymi's version describes how, in the year 841/1437, at the end of the reign of the Mamluk sultan, Barsbay, a Hanbali judge was appointed after a period of nineteen years during which there was not a single Hanbali judge in Jerusalem. According to al-'Ulaymi, this position of Hanbali judge also remained vacant at the end of the 15th century, because no suitable candidate could be found, and due to the small number of Hanbalis in the city.[14] Thus, in al-'Ulaymi's essay which was written towards the end of the 15th century, the Hanbalis constitute only 4% of Jerusalem's scholars.[15]

Al-Salihiyya quarter near Damascus became a locus of attraction for Hanbali adherents not only from various regions within Syria but also from the East – mainly from the al-Jazira region, Persia and Iraq. The wealthy families who migrated to Damascus established themselves in the most prominent positions in the field of education and jurisprudence, and as the supervisors of the *waqf* for the educational and religious institutions belonging to the Hanbali School. These families made significant contributions to the establishment of various educational and religious institutions,

especially in Damascus. The Banu Qudama retained their superior status as administrators of the educational and judicial affairs of the Hanbali School's adherents. The *al-'Umariyya* madrasa built by the family's patriarch, Abu 'Umar al-Maqdisi (d. 607/1210), was one of the largest and most important in Syria, and it remained under the administration of his descendants throughout the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.[16]

The Banu al-Shirazi, who also moved from Jerusalem to Damascus as a result of Crusader influence, were the first to build a madrasa in Damascus for the Hanbali adherents. A madrasa which was known by the name *al-Hanbaliyya* was built for 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn al-Shirazi (d. 536/1141). Another member of this family, Nasih al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shirazi (d. 634/1236), established the *al-Sahiba* madrasa. Other descendants of this family held high-ranking positions as teachers and preachers. They followed in the steps of their father, Abu al-Faraj, who was considered one of the major propagators and stalwarts of the Hanbali school in Syria.[17]

The burgeoning status of the Hanbalis based in the *al-Salihiyya* neighborhood of Damascus brought about a corresponding increase in the Hanbali community and its educational institutions. A review of the data presented by the Syrian historian, al-Nu'aymi, in his essay "*Al-Daris fi Tarikh al-Madaris",* regarding the scholars of Damascus, indicates that the Hanbalis were the second most powerful group after the Shafi'is. They constituted 20% of the total number of educators mentioned by this author. In comparison, their numbers in Jerusalem dwindled as a result of their increased migration to Damascus during the occupation of the city by Crusaders.

On the other hand, the Spaniards in Muslim Spain (Andalusia), who also were given the name *Firanja* (Franks) by the Medieval Muslim sources, left their influence, indirectly, on the situation in Syria by the immigration of *'ulama* and high ranking Muslims from Andalusia to Syria and the Muslim East. Since the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the Spaniard effect, compelling *'ulama* and the established classes among the Muslim population to leave the Maghrib and Andalusia and head eastward gradually grew stronger.[18]

The continued Maghribi immigration to Syria resulted in a gradual increase in their numbers in the major cities of the region. The large concentrations of Maghribis in these cities depended on the attractions of each city, such as employment opportunities and

available positions, proximity to holy sites, etc. Damascus, Aleppo, and Jerusalem absorbed the largest number of immigrants. Calculations based on the essays of al-Nu'aymi and al-'Ulaymi show that the Maghribi community in Jerusalem continued to expand throughout the last Mamluk period. The Andalusians and Maghribis in Syria worked on developing and flourishing their Maliki School of Law and institutions for their service in the main Syrian cities by the support of the Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers.[19]

Frank and Muslim Institutions in Syria: Changes and Interactions:

Although varied motives were behind the dedication of religious institutions or renovation of old ones by the Muslim rulers and other endowers, the religious drive was always made public. Thus, for example, Sultan Nur al-Din ibn Zangi maintained a visibly religious character, both in theory and practice. He was an adherent of the ḥanafi school and received a broad religious education; he promulgated religious policies in Syria, the purpose of which were to perpetuate the Sunni Islam and encourage acts of holy war (*jihad*) against the Franks.

The policy of Sultan Nur al-Din himself was guided by religious law and he made it one of his priorities to deepen religious sentiment. He maintained close relationships with religious leaders and held regularly scheduled meetings with them. The Sultan saw in the *'ulama* a means of strengthening his rule, and through them he was able to implement his policies. One of the highlights of Nur al-Din's policy was his emphasis on religious education, which grew stronger during his reign due to the endowment of *waqfs* as well as educational and religious institutions all over Syria. [20] Throughout the $6^{th}/12^{th}$ century, the Zangid rulers built their institutions to reinforce the foundations of orthodox religious education, to counter the Shi'i holdouts remaining from the Fatimids in Syria, and also to strengthen religious sentiment and the spirit of the holy war against the Crusaders. It should be noted that during this period Jerusalem and the coastal areas of Greater Syria were under Crusader rule.

The conflict with the Crusaders in the areas of Syria helped, directly or indirectly, in the development of educational and religious institutions, from the time of the Zangids on. The Zangids and their heirs, the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, made efforts to expel the Crusaders from Syrian territory. These circumstances had a strong impact on religious

spirit and education in Syria, as manifested in the increase in number of educational institutions of all types. The Holy War fought by the sultans, Nur al-Din ibn Zangi, the Ayyubid Salah al-Din and the first Mamluk sultans, such as Baybars, contributed to the reinforcement of religious fervour in the Syrian populace and increased Sunni educational activity, which worked to unite everyone against the Crusader conquest of the region.[21]

The holy status of Jerusalem in Islam, and the establishment there of educational and religious institutions nurtured the city's growth and development. The Muslim custom of visiting the holy sites in Jerusalem, especially after the pilgrimage to Mecca, increased the numbers of visitors to the city during this period. Many among the intellectuals and religious scholars came to Jerusalem initially as visitors, but preferred to remain close to the holy sites for religious reasons (*mujawara*). The biographies of religious scholars and intellectuals abound with examples of individuals who came to Syria with the objective of visiting Jerusalem. Sheikh Qutb al-Din al-Naysaburi (d. 578/1182), for example, came to visit the city while it was under Crusader rule. Later, he returned to Aleppo to hold various religious and educational positions there.[22]

It is noticeable that a reawakening of the spirit of Islam was expressed in the literature of this period in the form of counterpropaganda to the Crusaders. Some compositions and treatises appeared in the form of historical books while others were poetry compositions, such as those of Abu Shama al-Maqdisi, al-'Imad al-Katib al-Asbahani, Ibn Wasil, Ibn al-Athir and many others, who praised the Muslim leaders and their confrontation with the Crusaders. Many Muslim literary compositions flourished in form of merits (*fada'il*) to emphasize the importance of the Muslim holy places, particularly those which were under the Crusader occupation or influence in Syria. The merits aroused the advantages and values of all kinds of visits to the holy sites of Islam. New Muslim literary urged the visits to the holy cities and shrines for getting religious rewards. Al-'Asali concluded that more than half of the books and treatises composed regarding the merits of Jerusalem and the holy places were written after restoring the city from the Crusaders.[23]

Many treatises, guidebooks and compositions appeared to display and explain the importance of Jerusalem and other places in Syria for the Muslim people. Ibn al-Jawzi (d.

597/1201), a Baghdadi historian, wrote his composition "*Fada'il al-Quds*" (The merits of Jerusalem); Al-'Imad al-Asbahani (d. 597/1201) wrote "*Al-Fath al-Qudsi*" (The conquest of Jerusalem) and "*Al-Barq al-Shami*" (The light of Syria); Diya' al-Din al-Maqdisi (643/1245) wrote "*Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*" (The merits of Jerusalem); Burhan al-Din Ibn al-Firkah (d. 729/1329) wrote "*Al-I'lam fi Fada'il al-Sham*" (Informing about the merits of Syria); Ibn Surur al-Maqdisi (765/1364) wrote his book entitled "*Muthir al-Gharam fi Ziyarat al-Quds wal-Sham*" (Arousing love for visiting Jerusalem and Damascus/Syria); Taj al-Din Ishaq al-Tadmuri (d. 833/1429) wrote "*Muthir al-Gharam li-Ziyarat al-Khalil 'alayhi al-Salam*" (Arousing love to visit the friend of God /Abraham, peace be upon him); Muhammad Ibn Tulun (953/1546) also wrote a book titled "*Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*" (The merits of Jerusalem).[24]

In the pre-Ayyubid period, when Jerusalem was under Crusader occupation, no new establishments of Islamic educational institutions were erected in the city. Therefore, the development of educational institutions began only with the restoration of the city from the Crusaders by Sultan Salah al-Din. The development process of educational institutions in Jerusalem and in the coastal cities of Syria was different from that in other cities in the region, especially those between Damascus and Aleppo, which were not affected directly by the Crusader conquest. Most of the educational establishments in Jerusalem were founded during the first Mamluk period. Forty-seven institutions of every type were built from the beginning of the Mamluk rule until the Mongolian conquest of Syria in 803/1400.[25]

Despite restoring the Islamic rule to Jerusalem by the Ayyubids, the threat of a renewed Crusader conquest was still present. Taking action to restore the Islamic character of the city, Salah al-Din effected a purification by removal of the Christian symbols remaining on the al-Aqsa and al-Sakhra mosques. He revived the religious-educational activities in these mosques immediately following the first Friday prayer after the Ayyubid conquest. Salah al-Din appointed the judge Muhyi al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Zaki to serve as the Friday sermon preacher of the al-Aqsa mosque and Zayn al-Din ibn Naja as preacher delivering the weekday sermons (*wa'z*).[26]

Furthermore, Salah al-Din saw to the establishment of educational and religious institutions to serve the Muslim population, notably several institutions, which came to

bear his name afterwards: *al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya,* which served the adherents of the Shafiʻi School of Law, and the khanqah *al-Salahiyya* for the sufis. In addition to these, Salah al-Din endowed *al-Khitaniyya* zawiya and a hospital that likewise came to bear his name: *al-Maristan al-Salahi*.[27]

In order to strengthen the Islamic character of these institutions, Salah al-Din allocated a considerable quantity of *waqf* producing generous revenues, which were intended to serve as a base and continuing source of the institutions' funding. The primary feature characterizing most of these endowments was their being based on properties belonging to the State Treasury in the form of acts of charity. The endowments designated for the institutions of Salah al-Din were primarily in Jerusalem and adjacent regions, including one-third of the State-owned estates in the city of Nablus.[28] Sultan Salah al-Din set up his endowments in Jerusalem as a means of winning the support of religious figures in the city as well as in the countryside.[29]

The political circumstances in the region of Syria in general and in Jerusalem in particular during the Ayyubid period, left their mark on developments in the city not only in matters of politics per se, but also on the educational-religious sphere. Sultan al-Muʻazzam ʻIsa, the son of Salah al-Din, apprehensive that the Crusaders might renew their hold on Jerusalem, was compelled to destroy the walls of the city in the year 616/1219. The impending threat of a renewed Crusader conquest of Jerusalem continued until this became a reality in 626/1228-1229. This new occupation lasted until 642/1244, when the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub effected the city's liberation. Najm al-Din Ayyub visited Jerusalem in 645/1247 and ordered the rebuilding of the walls and that the city be fortified anew.[30]

These circumstances had a profound influence on Jerusalem and resulted in instability and a lack of security in the city. This situation was reflected in the educational system there, both by the low number of institutions established and the immigration of *ʻulama* and intellectuals. Only eleven educational institutions were founded in Jerusalem during the Ayyubid period, and these primarily after Salah al-Din's restoration of the city in 583/1187 and up until 616/1219 when the fears of a renewed Crusader conquest of the city began to spread.[31]

The Crusaders' renewed occupation of Jerusalem in the year 626/1228-1229 brought about not only the immigration of *'ulama* and members of the educated class and many of the Muslim and Jewish communities from the city, but also a partial cessation of the *waqf* incomes that funded educational institutions there. These incomes, in addition to the appointment of positions associated with Jerusalem, were relocated to the city of Damascus. The emir 'Izz al-Din Aybak al-Mu'azzami (d. 645/1247) who was the secretary (*'ustadar*) to the Ayyubid sultan al- Mu'azzam 'Isa, transferred to Damascus the income of his *waqf* which had previously been dedicated to his madrasa in Jerusalem. 'Izz al-Din Aybak rededicated this endowment in 626/1228 toward the expenses of holding lessons at the Umayyad mosque in Damascus. The conversion of this *waqf* and its conditions to funding the madrasa he established in the Umayyad mosque would continue in this format until Jerusalem would be relieved of the threat of Crusader occupation. This madrasa came to bear his name: *al-'Izziyya al-Hanafiyya*.[32] In addition to this, there were two more institutions of the Emir 'Izz al-Din Aybak in Damascus with his name: *al-'Izziya al-Barraniyya* and *al-'Izziyya al-Juwwaniyya*.

The Crusader control of Jerusalem during this period brought the Ayyubid ruler al-Nasir Dawud to take step in naming Shams al-Din Yusuf Sibt ibn al-Jawzi to the position of weekday sermon preacher in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus. Ibn al-Jawzi underscores the high degree of interest in Jerusalem evinced by the Ayyubid rulers, and the exploitation of the city's holiness for their own political aims. Ibn al-Jawzi also preached to the Muslims regarding Jerusalem's importance to Islam, thus effecting a strengthening of religious sentiment in calling for the liberation of the city from Crusader hands.[33]

Despite the renewed restoration of Jerusalem by the Ayyubid sultan Najm al-Din Ayyub in 642/1244, an atmosphere of threat prevailed in the region, emanating both from the Crusaders and from the Mongolians, who began launching attacks against Syrian areas until their defeat in 658/1260. A state of relative political stability prevailed with the advent of the Mamluk rule in Syria, after they had triumphed over the Mongolian army in that same year and expelled the Crusaders from Syria in 690/1291. This period of stability brought about massive development of educational and religious institutions in Jerusalem and the southern and coastal cities of Greater Syria (Bilad al-Sham), such as

Tripoli on the coast, Safed, Gaza and Hebron in the southern regions of Bilad al-Sham, which had previously been under Crusader influence.[34]

The policy of converting Syrian churches into Islamic religious and educational institutions during this period was also a means of demonstrating the power and prestige of the Muslims over the Crusaders from one side and as a revenge on the other. Since religious and educational institutions were symbols of the government and of the ruler's status, the Zangids and the Ayyubids promulgated the policy of adopting Sunni Islam and weakening the Shi'is and the Crusaders. During the first few years of the Franks conquest of the coastal areas of Syria, they widened their influence even throughout the inner parts of the region, from Diyar Bakir and Mardin in the north to Gaza in the south. The Crusaders built many cathedrals and castles along the coastal areas of Syria on the sites of earlier Christian churches and Muslim sites as well.[35] The Crusaders upheld the policy of neglecting the mosques under their control or transforming them into churches and Christian institutions, as they did with al-Aqsa and al-Sakhra mosques in Jerusalem. As a result of the Franks' raids, the Muslims suffered a bad situation and humiliating treatment.[36]

The Crusaders' destruction of mosques and Islamic holy places in Jerusalem and other areas of Syria during their conquest caused the rulers of Syria, whether Zangid, Ayyubid or Mamluk, to launch acts of retaliation against Christian institutions. For instance, in their raid on Aleppo in 518/1124, the Crusaders brought tremendous death and destruction on the city, plundering property and decimating it. As revenge, after consulting with the military leaders and getting their approval, Ibn al-Khashshab, the judge of Aleppo, ruled that all the Christian churches in the city should be turned into mosques, some of which later became madrasas. The largest church in Aleppo was transformed into a mosque named *al-Sarrajin* and later into a madrasa by the name of *al-alawiyya*. The church *al- addadin* became a madrasa known by the same name, and another church was used as ibn al-Muqaddam's madrasa, named *al-Muqaddamiyya*. Nevertheless, Ibn al-Khashshab left two churches untouched, for use by the local Christian residents of Aleppo.[37]

Revenge actions continued to take place in the area as part of the Muslim-Franks conflict. At one of the Franks' raids on Damascus and its surroundings in 553/1158, they

(the Franks/Crusaders) burned and destroyed the houses of Darya near Damascus, including its mosque and the shrine of the holy sheikh Abu Sulayman al-Darani. These institutions stayed ruined until 565/1169, when the sultan Nur al-Din ibn Zangi acted to repair them.[38]

As mentioned above, after the year 583/1187, Sultan Salah al-Din repaired, refurbished and renewed the operation of the mosques that had been damaged or deserted during the Crusader period. Salah al-Din ordered his people to restore the Islamic character to al-Aqsa and al-Sakhra mosques, and operate them as orthodox Islamic institutions for prayer, education and teaching.[39] During the period of Sultan Salah al-Din's war against the Crusaders, he continued to dedicate new educational and religious institutions, renovate abandoned mosques and turn existing churches into mosques or madrasas. It is important to note that many of these institutions were established by converting existing Christian buildings in Jerusalem. After consulting with the *'ulama*, Salah al-Din decided to dedicate three institutions in Jerusalem and change them to suit Islamic requirements. The church known as the Sepulchre of Santa Anna (Saint Anne) next to the Lion's Gate (*Bab al-Asbat*) was turned into the Shafi'i madrasa *al-Salahiyya*. The home of the Jerusalem patriarch, close to the Holy Sepulcher, became a Sufi hostel (*khanqah*) named *al-Salahiyya* too, for the use of   fis; another nearby church was transformed into a hospital named *al-Maristan al-Salahi*.[40] The sultan also ordered the renovation of the White Mosque (*al-Abya*) in Ramla, in 586/1190, and ordered the destruction of the church in Lod in 587/1191.[41]

The Mamluk rulers followed the Ayyubid lead, and continued to use abandoned churches as educational and religious institutions, or re-used the building stones of abandoned and ruined churches in the construction of new madrasas or mosques. Many Islamic educational and religious institutions in Jerusalem were built on the remains of churches, among them: the madrasa *al-Maymuniyya, al-Jaharkasiyya, al-Darkah, al-Qalandariyya, al-Yunisiyya*, the Zawiya of Sheikh Khadr, and the Zawiya of Sheikh Ya'qub.[42]

After the Crusaders were expelled from Syria in 690/1291 by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil ibn Qalawun, the Mamluk rulers made changes in some of the Christian religious institutions so that they could be used as Islamic educational and religious

institutions. In Beirut, the church of Mar Yuhanna was transformed into a mosque.[43] In Tripoli, which had previously been a Crusader stronghold, the *al-Mansuri* mosque was built on the ruins of a church in 694/1294-1295, five years after the city was conquered from Crusader hands. Other Islamic educational and religious institutions in the city were also founded on the remnants of the Christian churches, which had served the Crusaders, among them the *Taynal/ Taylan* mosque, founded in 736/1335 and *al-'Attar* mosque, founded in 751/1350.[44]

The Mamluk sultan, al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun also promulgated aggressive policies towards both Christians and Jews, who were accused of deviant acts against Muslims and their institutions. In 705/1305, the sultan tried to transform the Monastery of the Cross (*al-Musallabiyya*) in Jerusalem into a mosque, but rescinded his order after the intervention of the Byzantine emperor, allowing the church to continue to serve the Christian community in the city.[45] In 721/1321, Ibn Qalawun issued a decree, to turn the synagogue in Damascus into a mosque, after the Jews were accused of burning the Umayyad mosque.[46] In Aleppo, in 727/1326, the sultan ordered that a church named Mithqal be turned into a mosque. A minaret was constructed, and the place was subsequently used as a madrasa to teach   adith. Historians referred to it as *al-Nasiriyya* mosque or madrasa, named for the sultan al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun.[47]

Religious devotion was also a primary driving force behind the building of mosques by the Ayyubid rulers; these were erected in places that lacked a proper mosque, or in regions that had been under Crusader control. The goal of this policy was to destroy any traces of Crusader influence, whether by erecting new institutions or by transforming churches into mosques.

Safed also developed as an educational centre during the Mamluk period, particularly during the fourteenth century, in the period of post Crusaders. The city was restored from the Crusaders conquest in 584/1188 by Sultan Salah al-Din, after the battle of   ittin. There is no information on the establishment of educational institutions in the city or its environs during the Ayyubid period, except for the khanqah constructed by Salah al-Din in the village of   ittin near Tiberias.[48] The conflicts that erupted between the Ayyubid rulers over territories in Syria caused Safed to weaken, and it again fell to the Crusaders in 638/1240. They continued to hold the city until its liberation by the

Mamluk sultan al-Zahir Baybars in 664/1265-1266. From the time of its liberation by the Mamluks, Safed saw the development of educational and religious institutions inspired and sponsored by the Mamluk rulers. Due to Safed's strategic position, Baybars took energetic steps to reinforce it by constructing various institutions and facilities. He established two mosques in the city, both named for him. The first was established in the city and named *al-Zahir*; the second inside the fortress and known as *Jami' al-Qal'a* (the Fortress' Mosque).[49]

***Conclusion*:** While there were negative influences in the Muslim lands in Syria, politically and economically, Muslim education flourished, directly or indirectly, as a result of the Crusading phenomena. Despite the flows of immigrating *'ulama* and other Muslims from the Crusader occupied territories, the spirit of strong Muslim resistance reinforced religious education represented by religious and literary writings regarding the Muslim holy places, dedicating *waqf*, sermons and preaching (*wa'z*), erecting different kinds of Muslim institutions and even converting Christian institutions and churches to Islamic uses. This Muslim educational and cultural flow continued much more in the post Crusader era, during the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods.

Notes:

[1] Zacour deals with the different impacts of the Crusaders on Muslim lands, politically, economically and on religious fields. See: N. P. Zacour; H. W. Hazard, ed. (1985), *The Impact of the Crusaders on the Near East*, (A History of the Crusaders, vol. V), (Madison, Wisconsin), 33-58. For more information on the Muslim-Franks conflict and the impact of the Crusaders on the Near East, see: Robert Betts, (1979), *Christians in the Arab East*, (London); Goddard Hugh, (2000), *A History of Christians-Muslim Relations*, (Edinburgh), 79-141; Maya Shatzmiller, (1993), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, (Leiden); P. M. Holts, (1986), *The Age of the Crusaders*, (London and New York).

[2] See the effect of the immigration phenomena in Syria: Bo'az Shoshan, (1992) "Jerusalemite *'Ulama* and their role in the Mamluk Empire*"* in Joseph Drory ed. (in Hebrew), *Palestine in the Mamluk Period*, (Jerusalem), 86-97; Hatim Mahamid, (1999) "Al-'Ulama' al-Maqadisa wa-Dawruhum al-Thaqafi fi Dimashq fi al-'Asr al-Wasit" in Khalil 'Uda (ed.), *Yawm al-Quds* 5, (Nablus), 44-64.

[3] Regarding these events, see: Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'at al-Zaman fi Tarikh al-A'yan*, (Hayderabad, 1951), 3; 'Izz al-Din 'Ali bin Muhammad ibn al-Athir, (1983), *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, (Beirut), 8: 189, 250-251.

[4] See the biography of Abu Shama regarding the migration of the first members of his family from Jerusalem to Damascus: Shihab al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman al-Maqdisi / abu Shama, (1991), *'Uyun al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn: al-Nuriyya wa-al-Salahiyya*, (Damascus), 1: 70-73.

[5] See the biography of Abu al-Faraj al-Shirazi (d. 486/1093) and his family: 'Abd al-Qadir bin Muhammad Al-Nu'aymi, (1988), *Al-Daris fi Tarikh al-Madaris*, (Beirut), 2: 64-73, 79-86, 112-113; 'Imad al-Din abu al-Fida' Isma'il ibn Kathir, (undated)*, Al-Bidaya wa-al-Nihaya fi al-Tarikh*, (Aleppo), 12: 248; Ibid, 13: 34-35, 91, 116, 132, 154; Taqiyy al-Din Muhammad ibn Rafi' al-Sulami, (1982) Al-Wafayat, (Beirut), 2: 135-136; Muhammad bin 'Abdallah al-Hanbali al-Najdi, (1989), *Al-Suhub al-Wabila 'ala Dara'ih al-Hanabila*, (Mecca), 499; Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, (1993), *Al-Durar al-Kamina fi A'yan al-Mi'at al-Thamina*, (Beirut), 4: 480; Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn   u , (1979), *Al-Qala'id al-Jawhariyya fi Tarikh al-Salihiyya*, (Damascus), 2: 113, 143, 286, 340.

[6] See regarding the migration of the Banu Qudama family from the region of Jerusalem and Nablus to Damascus: Ibn Kathir, 13: 37-38, 71; Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Tulun, (1981), *Al-Qala'id al-Jawhariyya fi Tarikh al-Salihiyya*, (Damascus), 1: 7, 68- 83; Muhammad Ahmad Dahman, (1982), *fi Rihab Dimashq,* (Damascus), 35-44.

[7] See the biography of Ibn Surur: Ibn Kathir, 13: 37; Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id…*, 2: 439-441.

[8] About these institutions, see al-Nu'aymi, 2: 91-99, 100, 435-438; Ibn   lun, *al-Qala'id…*, 1: 130-140, 248-273; Ibn Kathir, 13: 55-56; Dahman, 44-55, 57-59; Muhammad Kurd 'Ali, (1928), *Khitat al-Sham*, (Damascus), 6: 63, 99-100.

[9] Al-Nu'aymi, 2: 114, 121-122; Ibn Kathir, 13: 84.

[10] Ibn Kathir, 13: 84; Al-Nu'aymi, 2: 121-122, 395; Muhammad Adib al-Hisani, (1979) *Muntakhabat al-Tarikh li-Dimashq*, (Beirut), 1022-1027.

[11] On the biographies of these *'ulama*, see: Al-Nu'aymi, 2: 107; Ahmad bin 'Abd al-Rahim abu Zara'a Ibn al-'Iraqi, (1989) *Al-Dhayl 'ala al-'Ibar fi Khabar man 'Abar*, (Beirut), 2: 294-295; Ibn Kathir, 14: 240.

[12] Ibn Kathir, 13: 152, 155; Al-Nu'aymi, 1: 20; Regarding the renewed control of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, see: Ibn al-Athir, 9: 378.

[13] Al-Nu'aymi, 1: 82; Regarding the *Dar al-Hadith al-'Urwiyya* institution, see ibid, 82-89; Regarding the *'ulama* of Jerusalem during the period of the migrations, see: Shoshan, "Jerusalemite *'Ulama*…"; Mahamid, "Al-'Ulama'…", 44-64.

[14] Mujir al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad al-Hanbali al-'Ulaymi**,** (1973), *Al-'Uns al-Jalil bi-Tarikh al-Quds wal-Khalil*, (Amman), 2: 32, 263.

[15] Al-'Ulaymi notes that at the end of the 15th century, there was a lack of Hanbali *'ulama* in Jerusalem, which brought about the neglect of the position of Imam for worshippers of this school, and they had to appoint an unqualified person to this position. See: Al-'Ulaymi, 2: 32. For comparing between the strength of the adherents of the different Muslim Schools of Law in Damascus and Jerusalem, see Table 6 in: Hatim Mahamid, (1999) "Islamic Education in Syria in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods, 569-922/1173-1516", (in Hebrew), Thesis Submitted for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy, (Tel-Aviv University), 44; See also regarding to Jerusalem: Hatim Mahamid, (2003) "Developments and Changes in the Establishment of the Islamic Educational Institutions in Medieval Jerusalem" in *Annales Islamologiques***,** 37, 346.

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[16] Regarding the al-'Umariyya Madrasa, see: Al-Nu'aymi, 2: 100; Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id…,* 1: 248-273; Dahman ,44-55.

[17] See the examples of *'ulama* of the al-Shirazi family: Al-Nu'aymi, 2: 64-73, 84, 113; Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id ...*, 2: 415, 427, 574-576; Ibn al-'Imad al-Hanbali, (1979), *Shadharat al-Dhahab fi Akhbar man Dhahab*, (Beirut), 4: 113, 143, 286, 340; *Ibid*, 5: 85, 125, 325, 340

[18] According to the medieval sources, the term "*Maghariba*" included also the Andalusians, who immigrated eastward from Muslim Spain. See regarding the immigration of Andalusians to Syria as a result of Spaniards' pressure during the late Middle Ages: Ali Ahmad, (1989), *Al-Andalusiyyun wal-Maghariba fi Bilad al-Sham*, (Damascus), 84-91, 102-108.

[19] Regarding the Maghribis in Jerusalem: their community and endowments, for instance, see: Huda Lutfi, (1985), *Al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya (Mamluk Jerusalem)*, (Berlin), 235-236; Gideon J. Weigert, (2001) "On the Endowment of Abu Madyan the Maghribi in Jerusalem" (in Hebrew), *Cathedra*, 58 , 25-34; Mahamid, "Developments…", 345-346. Al-'Ulaymi, 2: 46, 252, 254, 364.

[20] See: Abu Shama, 1: 258-259, 369. See also there on page 288, the rhyming form of the poem in which al-'Imad al-Katib praised the undertakings of Sultan Nur al-Din ibn Zangi in these contexts.

[21] For more details about the early Muslim reactions to the Crusaders, see: Emmanuel Sivan, (1968), *L'Islam et la Croisade*, (Paris), 28-35.

[22]Abu Shama, 1: 376.

[23] Most of the literary of merits appeared during the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. See: Kamil Jamil al-'Asali, (1984), *Makhtutat Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, (Amman), 1-16.

[24] See: Zacour, 36-38; for more details about books and compositions written about the merits of Jerusalem, see: Al-'Asali, *Makhtutat…,* 25-124.

[25] For more details regarding the developments and changes in endowing Islamic institutions in Medieval Jerusalem, see: Mahamid, "Developments…", 329-354.

[26] Al-'Ulaymi, 1: 332-339. See there regarding the sermon delivered by the Ibn al-Zaki in the al-Aqsa mosque on the first Friday following the liberation of Jerusalem by the sultan Salah al-Din; Ibid, 2: 256.

[27] See al-'Ulaymi, 1: 340-341; Ibid, 2: 41, 47.

[28] 28) Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Furat, (1967), *Tarikh ibn al-Furat*, (Basra), 4, part 2: 88-89, 92-93. See regarding the waqf of Sultan Salah al-Din for his institutions in Jerusalem: Ibn al-Athir, 9: 186, 222; Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Wasil al-Hamawi, (1957), *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar bani Ayyub*, (Cairo), 2: 230, 407, 408; Ibn Kathir, 12: 351-352, 377; 'Imad al-Din Isma'il abu al-Fida', (undated), *Al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*, (Beirut), 83; Jamal al-Din Yusuf ibn Taghribardi, (1958), *Al-Nujum al-Zahira fi Muluk Misr wal-Qahira*, (Cairo), 6: 54, 55, 59, 99; Al-Nu'aymi, 1: 332-333; Muhammad Absharli and Muhammad al-Tamimi, (1982), *Awqaf wa-Amlak al-Muslimin fi Falastin*, (Istanbul), 31, 32, 35, 45; Al-'Asali, (1983), *Watha'iq Maqdisiyya*, (Amman), 1: 91-95.

[29] Several researchers have discussed the use of *waqf* as a political instrument, see: Ira Lapidus, (1967) *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge), 73-113; Oded

Peri, (1988) "The Waqf as an Instrument to Increase and Consolidate Political Power", *Asian and African Studies*, 17, 47-62.

[30] Ibn Kathir, 13: 77, 156; Ibn al-Athir, 9: 378.

[31] See Tables 1 and 2: Mahamid, "Developments…", 335, 341. Regarding the Islamic education and institutions in Medieval Jerusalem in the shadow of the Muslim-Crusader conflict, see: Ibid, 330-335.

[32] Al-Nu'aymi, 1: 557-558.

[33] Hamza bin 'Umar ibn Sabat, (1993), *Tarikh ibn Sabat (Sidq al-Akhbar)*, (Tripoli), 1: 296.

[34] See regarding the development of Islamic and educational institutions in these cities: Mahamid, "Islamic Education…", 191-201.

[35] See: Zacour, 42-44.

[36] See regarding the changes and additions that the Crusaders made to the al-Aqsa and Dome of the Rock mosques: Al-'Ulaymi, 1: 331, 339-340. Regarding the cruel and humiliating treatments of the Crusaders towards Muslims in the Syrian regions, see: Abu Shama, 1: 186-189. Zacour says that the Crusader impact on Muslim lands had its negative economic effect in the form of destruction of life and property, see: Zacour, 38.

[37] 41) See: Kamal al-Din 'Umar ibn al-'Adim, (1968), *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab,* (Damascus), 2: 113, 210, 215, 242, 293-294; Muhammad bin 'Ali ibn Shaddad, (1991), *Al-A'laq al-Khatira fi Dhikr 'Umara' al-Sham wal-Jazira*, (Damascus), 1: 241, 244, 264-271, 273-277; Muhammad ibn al-Shahna, (1984), *Al-Durr al-Muntakhab fi Tarikh Mamlakat Halab,* (Damascus), 118; Abu al-Wafa' bin 'Umar al-'Urdi, (1992), *Ma'adin al-Dhahab fi al-A'yan al-Musharrafa bi-him Halab*, (Amman), 160-161, 170, 185; Muhammad Raghib Al- abbakh, (1989), *Anba' al-'Ulama' bi-Tarikh Halab al-Shahba'*, (Aleppo), 4: 237-241, 461-469.

[38] See, Abu Shama, 1: 247, 296.

[39] Al-'Ulaymi, 1: 331, 332, 339-340; See also the new formulation arranged by the judge Mu i al-Din ibn al-Zaki: Ibid, 332-339.

[40] See: Al-'Ulaymi, 1: 340-341; Ibid, 2: 41, 47. Al-'Ulaymi argues there that Salah al-Din even ordered the closure of the Holy Sepulchre and prevented the Christians from visiting it. See also regarding Salah al-Din's enterprises in Jerusalem: Kamil Jamil al-'Asali, (1981), *Ma'ahid al-'Ilm fi Bayt al-Maqdis,* (Amman), 61-64, 294, 331; 'Abd al-Jalil Hasan 'Abd al-Mahdi,, (1981), *Al-Madaris fi Bayt al-Maqdis*, (Amman,), 1: 181, 343, 403.

[41] See: Al-'Ulaymi, 2: 69, 71; Regarding the destruction of the church in Lod, see: Ibn al-Athir, 9: 216; Ibn Kathir, 12: 372; Ibn Sabati 1

[42] See: Al-'Ulaymi, 2: 44, 47, 48, 64-65; Al-'Asali, *Ma'ahid...*, 207, 282, 294, 331, 343, 344, 347, 361, 364.

[43] Ibn Sabati

[44] See: Nahdi bhi al-Himsi, (1986), *Tarikh Tarablus*, (Beirut,), 67-69. Al-Nabulsi thinks that the al-Mansuri mosque had been a church and was transformed into a mosque after the conquest of the Crusaders. See: 'Abd al-Ghani bin Isma'il al-Nabulsi, (1971), *Al-tuhfa al-Nabulsiyya fi al-Rihla al-Tarabulsiyya*, (Beirut), 72; See also regarding the mosque and the educational institutions that developed in the city during the period under discussion: Yahya ibn abi al-Safa ibn Mahasin, (1981), *Al-Manazil al-Mahasiniyya fi al-*

Rihla al-Tarabulsiyya, (Beirut), 81; Kurd 'Ali, 6: 53, 128-129; 'Umar Tadmuri, (1974), *Tarikh wa-Athar Masajid wa-Madaris Tarablus*, (Tripoli), 57.

[45] Al-'Ulaymi, 2: 51.

[46] Muhammad ibn Sasra, (1963), *Al-Durra al-Mudi'a fi al-Dawlat al-Zahiriyya*, (Berkley and Los Angeles), 126-127.

[47] Ibn al-Shahna, *Al-durr…*, 72-73; Al-Tabbakh, 4: 267-268; Al-'Urdi maintains that the madrasa had previously been a Jewish synagogue, see: Al-'Urdi, 164.

[48] See: Salah al-Din Khalil ibn Aybak al-Safadi, (1961), *Al-Wafi bi-al-Wafayat*, (Wiesbaden), 3: 165; Kurd 'Ali, 6: 152; Taha al-Thalji al-Tarawna, (1982), *Mamlakat Safad fi 'Ahd al-Mamalik*, (Beirut), 262. Possibly, this khanqah was the one known as the *al-Salahi* mosque in Hittin. The khanqah continued to function during the Mamluk period as well, as can be understood from the biography of the Sufi sheikh Shams al-Din Muhammad bin Talib/ Sheikh al-Rabwa who died in Safed in 727/1326. See: Ibn Hajar, *Al-Durar…*, 3: 458-459.

[49] Al-Tarawna contends that the *al-Zahir* mosque in Safed is the *al-Ahmar* mosque, but from the waqf documents published by Absharli and al-Tamimi, it turns out that they are two separate mosques. See: Al-Tarawna, 259-260; Absharli and al-Tamimi, pp. 60, 63.